

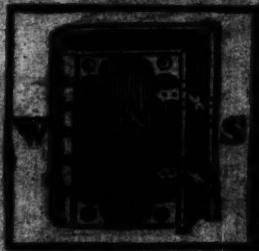
# MONCK'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION, Before the late W. A.R.

In an Humble Address to His Excellency,  
**General MONCK.**

By a Zealot for the Good Old Laws of his Country, before any  
Faction or Caprice, with Additions.

*Optima Libertas, ubi Rex, cum Legi, Gubernat.*

*Sir Robert L'Estrange.*



LONDON,

Printed by T. Mabb, for William Sears in Bedford Street, near Covent  
Garden, at the Blue Bible, 1660.

A TRUTH for Subjects  
MONARCHY

and it was first printed in this

NATION

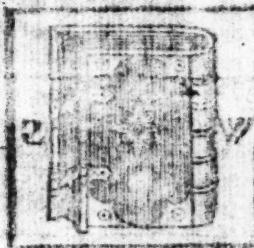
Before the late WAR.

Harmsworth's APPALACHIA or the FRENCHMAN.

THE MONARCH.

BY G. C. COOK, OF NEW YORK. IN TWO VOLUMES. PRICE \$2.00.  
ONE VOLUME, \$1.00. AND A HISTORY OF THE AMERICANS.

London: Printed for the Author, by G. C. Cook, 1800.



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A Valed for Lamead. Monarchy's AS IT THEN STOOD  
blifed in this Nation before the late War.  
*In an humble Address to his Excellence the General Monck.*

Sir, I have no occasion to complain of your conduct, & your  
actions in this nation do go to the contrary. You did nothing but what  
was right, & to be expected but what was to be done. I have, however, made  
an endeavours to find out some thing to say to you, & to give you a good  
warning, by several Letters, published in Your Name, that you  
professe a more then ordinary zeal to popular Government; &  
and not knowing anything herein that can so mislead you  
but the glorious pretence of a Free State, a notion, which  
hath even unfortunatly many otherwise great and worthy  
Persons. I held it my Duty, but, to acquaint you, how necessary it is  
to distinguish betwixt the Form and Substance of a Common-wealth, the  
mistake whereof (each for the other) hath proved so fatal in our times:  
Next to examine, whether those that professe of our Kingly Govern-  
ment, and longed for Novelty have not, indeed (like the Dog in the Fa-  
ble) lost the substance of Liberty and happiness, in pursuit of the shadow.

Our fierce Champion of a Free State will not, I presume, maintaine that  
it is subject to no violations, least wotfull experience confute, and force  
them to confess, either that a Common-wealth may degenerate, or, at least,  
that this never was a Commonwealth: And, as they must renounce their  
sense, so they must deny the Faith of Story, which proves, that Repub-  
licks have been sometimes invaded with Usurpation, sometimes Debauch-  
ed, and Embasled with Oligarchy; mostly (by reason of their weakness,  
and divisions) subdued, or forced to truckle under their neighbouring  
Princes, always tormented with faction. Neither, indeed do they, them-  
selves offer any argument but such as, in effect, beg the question, by pre-  
supposing great unity in the Coalition, great probity in the Intention, and  
great purity in the Exercise; which doubtlesse, being admitted, we should  
so little need to differ about Forms, that perhaps, we should scarce need  
any Government at all. The stoutest assertors of Monarchy, likewise, must  
acknowlegd, That it, being but earthen ware (though the finest and stron-  
gest,) is subject to divers accidents. For nothing under heaven is perfect:  
And when we constitute Governments, we must not think to build Babels  
against the Deluge, but embank against floods and enclose the best we can  
against Traitors. This being premised, let us consider these two Go-  
vernments, not Metaphysically, in notions, abstracted from their subjects,  
(a pastime, which our Platopicks much delight in,) but morally and rea-  
sonably, as concrete, & adapted to times, places, and persons, viz. our own.  
I might, perhaps, decide the question, in few words, by alleging the

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present inclination of the whole people, now to Monarchy ; For, As no man can be born with a natural aversion to Tyranny, who is oblig'd against his will ; And how should Government founded upon Inequality and force, ever subsist without it ? Or a State, which is the mere Adjective of an Army, become a Substantive, beginnings of this kind being so ominous ? As reasonably might I object matter of Title, and forraine pretence ; For the same estate, with a flaw in the Conveyance, or clogged with Statutes and Judgements, is not, surely, of like value, as if it had descended clearly from the great Grandfather, and were free both from Claims and Ineubraces ; and one that hath little, yet ows nothing, is likelier to thrive then he, who owing vast sums (which he resolves never to pay) dares not walk the streets for fear of Serjeants ; But my intent, is onely, to shew, that our former Government (as it excellently complied with the Laws Genius, & Interest of this Nation) so it comprehended all the benefits of a Commonwealth, in great perfection ; And this I shall doe, as briefly, as I can.

To shew how it complied with our Laws and Constitutions, let it suffice that (Monarchy in these Nations, being more ancient then story or record, more Venerable than Tradition it self) our Laws were (as it were) under that Climate, habituated to that ayre and dyer, grafted into that stock ; and though they have (God be thanked) forgot their *Norman*, yet they will hardly learn *Greek*, much lesse, *Utopian* : That, in the late Protectours times, our Lawyers with one voice, importuned him, rather to assume the stile and power of a King, to which, they found all our Laws were shaped, then retain that of a Protectour, unknown to the Law : That nothing hath rendred our Architectours of a Commonwealth more obnoxious, then that their infinite discords in other things, generally, agreed in the necessity of subverting all our Fundamentals, in order to their Designe ; which hath likewise oblig'd all sober men, and true Patriots (even the chiefest Pillars of the Parliaments Cause, in the late War) to unite themselves, with the Royall Interest, as not enduring to hear of those violent and dangerous alterations, which they see a Republick must introduce.

For its compliance with our Genius, consider, that as our English nature is not like the French, supple to oppression, and apt to delight in that pompe and magnificence of their Lords, which they know, is supported with their slavery and hunger ; Nor like the High land Scots, where the honour and Interest of the Chief, is the glory of the whole *Clan* ; so doth it, as little or lesse, agree with the Dutch humour, addicted onely to Traffick, Navigation, Handy-crafts, and sordid Thrift ; and (in defiance of Heraldry) every man fancying his own Scutcheon : Doth not every one amongst us, that hath the name of a Gentleman, aim his utmost to uphold it ? Every one that hath not, to raise one ? To this end, do not our very Yeomen commonly leave their Lands to the eldest Son, and to the others, nothing.

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Nothing but a Flail or Plough? Did not every one, that had any thing like an estate, pinch himself in his condition, to purchase a knight-hood or Royal Patent? What need further proof? Our late experience of that gloomy and shadow of Monarchy, (though in persons hated and scorned, and upon a most scandalous account) yet (for meere resemblance) admitted as tolerable, and in respect of a Common-wealth, Courted, clearly evinces, how gratefull the substance would be to Englishmen.

For our Interest, briefly (to wave tedious and politick discourses,) certain it is, that our Republick, (were it like to settle) would alarme all our Neighbours, would make our best Allies, our bitterest enemies, and (upon several accounts) probably draw upon us, the united forces of Christendome to crush the *Embroia*. Which (the Nation being so weakened, and divided, as it is,) must evidently endanger our totall oppression, or at least, to bring in the King by Conquest: Besides, by what Title shall we pretend to hold *Scotland* and *Ireland*, since that of Descent is now avoided, and Consent we know there is none, nor, indeed, can any be expected?

I come now to assert, that our former Government, eminently, included all the perfections of a Free-State, and was the Kernel, as it were, of a Common-wealth, in the shell of Monarchy: First I will begin with the essentiall parts of a Common-wealth, which are three, *viz.* The Senate proposing, the People Resolving, the Magistrate Executing: For the Senate or Parliament, if, ever there were a free, and honourable one, it was here; where the Deputies of the whole Nation, most freely-chosen, did, with like freedome, meet, propound, debate and vote all matters of common Interest: No danger escaped their Representing; no grievance, their complaint; no publick right, their Claim; or good, their Demand; In all which the least breach of Priviledge was branded as a civil sacrilege: And though there lay no Appeal to the dispersed body of the People (a decision manifestly impracticable in Government, and fitter indeed for Tribunes to move, then Nations to admit) yet (Elections being so popular, and Assemblies frequent) the same end was attained with much more safety and convenience. The Prince had, likewise (in effect) but an executive Power, which he exercised by Ministers and Officers, not onely sworn, but severely accountable: For though both he and the Lords had their Negatives in making Laws; yet (no Tax being impossible, but by Consent of the Commons, nor any Law, (without it) of such validity, that the Ministers of Justice durst enforce it;) There was a wise and sweet necessity for the King, and likewise for the Lords (who were but as a grain in the Royall Scale) to confirm all such Bills, as were convenient for the People, and not greatly hurtfull to the Prince; and so this Bug-beare Negative, was resolved into a meer Target, to shelter and preserve the Government from being altered, at the Will of

the Commons, if at any time they should prove Factious : which (being in yellow maner) hath been also confirmed by great experience : Our Kings having rarely obstructed any Bill, which they might safely graunt ; but on the other side, passed many high Acts of meer Grace, circumscribing their Prerogative, and clipping its Wings ; nay, I could wish they had not pierc'd its bowels. This was that triple Cord, which one would think, could not be broken ; nor indeed, was it broken, but cut asunder : This was our Gold, seven times refined ; for every Bill, being thrice read, debated and agreed, in either House, was at last, brought to the King, for his Royal Assent, the Mint of our Laws : A triall so exact, that surely, no drosse could escape it ; since all Interests must thereto concur (as truly, it was but fit they should, in the establishment of that, which must binde them all.) This was that Temperament, which poised our Humours, and at once, endued us with health, vigour and beauty ; No Vote was precipitated, no Act was huddled up ; As by sad events, we have since seen, that Power, being engrossed by one of the Estates, purged and modelled to the Interests of a faction, a consequence natural to such premises : (As in a Ballance consisting but of one scale) nothing hath been weighed, our laws have been Mandrakes of a Nights growths, and our times as fickle as the weather or multitude.

The King indeed, had the Power of making War, but he had not the means : And then, it signified no more, than giving him leave to flye, if he could get wings ; or to go beyond Sea, so he went without shipping : He had a Sword, but he alone could never draw it, for the Trained Bands were a Weapon, which he (decently) wore, but the Nation, onely, could use : He chose his Ministers, (as who doth not his servants?) But alas, he was accomptable for them, to the Triennall Parliament, which none but the soundest Integrity could abide : He could hinder the stroke of Justice with his Pardon (though still, the jaws not being muzzled, it would bite terribly) but certainly, it was great wisdom, rather, to give way ; since with his own scandall, he could afford offenders but a lame and scurvy Protection ; and since the Power of relieving his Wants rested in the Commons, to ballance his Will, and oblige him to a Correspondence with Parliaments.

That his Person should be most sacred, it was but needfull, to avoid circulation of accompt, reasonable, since it carries with it, the Consent of Nations ; Just, that he should not be the meer But of Faction and Malice, in worse condition, than the basest of Vassals ; Honourable, that the nakednesse of Government might not be daily uncovered ; Wise, in the Constitution, not at once, to trust and provoke, by forcing him to shift for his own Indemnity, no danger to the Publick seeming, & extream, as the Outlawry of a Prince ; no task by daily experience, so difficult, as the arraigning of any Power, whether Regall or Populrs : And since we make golden Bridges, for flying enemies, much more may we afford them to relenting

lenting Sovereigns, (upon which account, in our neighbouring Kingdoms of France, even Princes of the Blood are not subjected to capital Punishments;) Finally, very safe, in the consequent, for (being ( by the danger threatening his corrupt Ministers) in all probability, script of Agents) his personall impunity might, well, signify somewhat to himself, but nothing to the People.

A Revenue he had, for the support of his State and Family, amply for the ordinary Protection of his People; sufficient, but for any want, taking, defectives, and/or publick oppression, so inconsiderable, that when Prerogative was most rampant, our greatest Princes (and some don't disbelieve, we have had, the most renowned Warriours of their Ages) could never prudently aspire to make themselves sole Legislators, nor presumed to maintain Red-coats in times of Peace. If any object, (as some, concerned, are ready enough,) that Kingly Power could here, no longer, subsist, for want of Revenews. It is easily answered, That a King of France, indeed, could not, and God forbid, he should; but a King of England might, and (for ought I see) still may (the sale of Crown Lands, which exceeded not the value of 100000. per annum, being, methinks, no matter of unctioning, but rather of easie compensation.) For the publick Revenue was proportioned to the maintenance of Courts, not Campes and Fleets; A Gentleman of reasonable estate may live well on his Rents; But then, it is not convenient, he should keep Wenches, or hangers on, nor build, nor study Chymistry. In fine, the Revenue was very competent for ordinary disbursements, as for extraordinary, if he resorted to Parliaments, the wiser, the safer and happier, we:

I desire all our Projectours of Common-wealths, to contrive greater freedom for their Citizens, than is provided by *Magna Charta*, and the *Bill of Right*; Or shew us, that it is not much easier to violate, than to mend them: For, thereby our Lives, Liberties, and estates were, under Monarchy secured, and established, I think, as well as any thing, on this side Heaven: It were no solecisme to say, the Subject had his Prerogative as well, as the King: And, sure I am, he was in as good (if not better) condition to maintain it, the dependance being lesse on his side: Liberty was no lesse sacred than Majesty; *Noli me tangere*, was likewise its Motto; And in case (if any), the least infringement (as escapes in Government may happen even in the most perfect;) It was resented, as if the Nation had received a box on the Ear; If it be, as they say, the glory of a Free-Sense, to exalt the scandal of Tyranny, to embase our Spirits; doubtless, this was our onely Common-wealth: for, ever since, me thinks, we have learned quietly to take the Bastonade.

I wish we now could, or could ever hope, under our Common-wealth (what ever promises may be made us;) so perfectly to distinguish the Legislative from the Ministerial Authority, as once we did; when the King of Com-

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